1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

194. Working for wages often occurs between close kin. At Rumah Nyala, in March, 1950, Gayar, a woman of about 50 years, spent two days in reaping the *padi* of her brother's farm; for this she received $3 in Sarawak currency. Gayar's own *padi* was of excellent quality and she was assured of a certain surplus; her motive was not to obtain *padi*, but ready cash for purchasing matches and kerosene from a Chinese boat hawker. It is important to note that Gayar was required to work, even for her own brother. This is normal Iban custom between close kin who are members of *different bilek* families; but it is usual to give close kin more generous payment than remote kin or strangers. Thus Gayar was given $1·50 per day, whereas the standard rate in 1950 was only $1 per day—*padi* being valued at $1 per gantang. Many similar instances could be quoted. Occasionally visiting Kenyahs (from Long Nawan) and Penihing (from the Makaham) are employed on Iban farms, and paid in *padi* for use on their return journeys. Iban men seek similar employment when travelling in the territories of other tribes.

195. We have noted that Iban do not normally work for wages on the farm of another *bilek* family unless compelled to do so by economic necessity. However, over the years almost every *bilek* family has experienced one or more crop failures, and been obliged to earn *padi* by temporary employment with others. There is thus no especial stigma attached to working for wages within one's own or any other long-house. In 1950 indeed, the daughter and daughter-in-law of the headman (*tuai rumah*) of Rumah Nyala spent several days in reaping—in return for *padi*—on the farm of another *bilek* family. On the other hand there was one family at Rumah Nyala (that of Gadu, No. 7) which did pride itself on the fact that its members had never found it necessary to work for others.

196. The incidence of wage labour varies considerably from year to year. If conditions are favourable only a very few families are without supplies; but in adverse years, and particularly after a bad burn, poor crops are much more in evidence. The 1949-50 season at Rumah Nyala was one of the worst for many years, and resulted in the women of nine different *bilek* families engaging in farm work in return for *padi*. They were variously employed—mostly in reaping—on the farms of four *bilek* families each of which produced a surplus. This incidence (i.e. 9 out of 25 *bilek* families) is high, but it is important to note that in general, very little time is actually spent in working for wages. A *bilek* family always attends first to the cultivation of its own farm, and only when this has been thoroughly accomplished turns to working for others. This means that wage labour only becomes available during a restricted period towards the end of the various stages of the *padi* cycle. Moreover, even when labour is hired, the members of the employing *bilek* continue to participate so that the task in hand is soon completed. It is rare therefore, for a woman to spend more than about 10 days a year in working for others; and in several of the nine cases quoted above, the period involved was one of only two or three days. We may say then that, among the Iban, wage labour is an institution of very subsidiary importance in what is paramountly a subsistence economy.

The Time Factor in Padi Cultivation

197. We have already surveyed the techniques employed during the principal stages of the *padi* cycle, and given some account of the organization of labour in agricultural work. Let us now turn to a brief assessment of the time involved in the cultivation of hill rice—as it is practised by the Iban, examining first the farming calendar. The agricultural year begins with the *matak ka burong* ceremony

867 and young women are taught that their roles in farm, garden and bilik require skill and resourcefulness in providing for their families.

243 554 183 We have described the importance which the Iban attaches to successful farming. The sine qua non for upward social mobility has been until recently continuous success in padi-farming.[1] It is in this area as in no other that the blessings of the gods appears, and men who are successful farmers and know a relative degree of prosperity (betuah-limpah, "with good luck") are invited to pronounce blessings at the gawai, that some of their benefits may spread to others. On the other hand, in traditional Iban culture, though a man might be skilled in other areas such as augury, shamanism or even warfare, if the gods of fortune didn't bless his farm, his ambitions for upper-class recognition foundered.

One member of the newly emerging entrepreneurial class of Ibans, a hard-working and ambitious man, said that the foundations of his success were securely laid.

> "My family has never known a year when we were short or rice (maya bulan gantong sendok). This is the reason why I have been able to get ahead and stay ahead of the rest of the people in my community: I haven't had to spend money on rice. And other members of the community work for me in my rubber and pepper gardens, in exchange for a gantang (5-1/3 pounds of husked rice."

[437]

• 22 183 The Iban is expected to show skills in the other tasks performed in making a living, such as fishing, gathering, hunting and acquisition of those things commonly needed.

[178]

[1] Higher education and employment now offer viable alternatives.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

The agricultural year begins with the *melah ka burong* ceremony [157] in which the *tuai burong* (augur) formally distributes omen sticks, and inaugurates the rites of *pemanggol*. This is usually in May or early June, and thereafter each *bilek* family plans its own operations as an independent unit—with the important reservation that the owners of neighbouring farms must always be consulted when the date of the burn is being settled. The various processes of *padi* cultivation are so well standardized however, that although each *bilek* family makes its own arrangements, they keep closely in step with one another throughout the year. In other words, all families initiate major operations and rituals at about the same time—with not more than about 10 days separating first from last.

198. To illustrate the main sequence of events let us take as an example the farming calendar of the *bilek* family of Kamba, the *tuai burong* of Rumah Nyala. In 1949-50 Kamba was working a principal farm of about 5 acres in virgin jungle (*kampong*), and a subsidiary plot of about 2 acres in secondary growth (*dijap damun*). Both of these farms were among those which I selected for special study, and listed below is a chronicle of the chief incidents of the 1949-50 season.

Table 15: Calendar of Chief Events of Agricultural Cycle
(Ref.: *bilek* family of Kamba, Rumah Nyala, 1949–50.)

Event	*Date*
Inauguration of *pemanggol* rites, and work commenced on clearing the jungle	1 . 6 . 49
Clearing of jungle completed	1 . 8 . 49
Farm fired (after approximately one month's delay, caused by adverse weather)	14 . 9 . 49
Nangkal rites; dibbling and sowing begin	18 . 9 . 49
Belaboh padi pun rites (the planting of the sacred rices, *padi pun, sangking*)	25 . 10 . 49
Sowing completed	27 . 10 . 49
Weeding begins	1 . 11 . 49
Weeding ends	5 . 1 . 50
Reaping of *padi muda* (quick-ripening rices)	12 . 2 . 50
Nganjong ka penyadai rites	27 . 2 . 50
First carrying of *padi* to *dampa*; *ngalu ka padi* rites	25 . 3 . 50
Threshing begins	26 . 3 . 50
Reaping of *padi pun*; i.e. end of the harvest	22 . 4 . 50
Final winnowing	30 . 4 . 50
Storing of *padi* (*besimpan*)	2 . 5 . 50

199. It will be seen that farming operations—from the initial rites of clearing the jungle to the final ritual of storing the grain—extended over almost exactly eleven months. In 1949 however, exceptionally wet weather delayed the burn for about a month. In normal years the total duration of the *padi* cycle is probably about ten months. But this figure applies to the farming of virgin jungle; if young secondary growth (e.g. *krukoh*, *dijap*, etc.) were being farmed the clearing period would be considerably shortened, and the total cycle not more than about nine months in length. Of course not all of this season of nine or ten months is spent in actual farm work, for there are slack periods, notably between the end of felling and the burn, and between the completion of weeding and the harvest, when there is little to be done, and both men and women can turn to other tasks. In Table 16, which includes data for three different farms of Rumah Nyala, the overall durations of the main divisions of the farming cycle are shown.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

Table 16: Duration of Main Stages of the Agricultural Cycle: (in 1949-50)

Activity or Period	*Total Duration in Days*		
	umai Kamba	*umai Kubu*	*umai Gadu*
Pemanggol to completion of felling	62	63	53
Interval between completion of felling and firing of farm	44	43	60
Interval between firing of farm and commencement of sowing	3	3	3
Dibbling and sowing	40	41	31
Interval between end of sowing and commencement of weeding	4	4	3
Weeding	61	64	57
Interval between end of weeding and commencement of reaping	42	41	56
Reaping	70	70	46
Period from end of harvest to storing of grain ..	10	21	25
Totals:			
(*a*) From first rites of felling to end of the harvest	326	329	309
(*b*) From first rites of felling to storing of the grain	336	350	334

200. The figures given in Table 16 record the overall duration in days of principal stages of the agricultural cycle, but this does not mean that work was performed on all of these days. Among the Baleh Iban there is no observance of Saturday, Sunday, or any other statutory holiday of the British or any other calendar; but rest days do occur nevertheless. Each month one day's rest is observed to mark the waning of the moon (*bulan rumpang*). Bad dreams (*mimpi jai*) and evil omens of many different kinds regularly prevent participation in farm work, or compel its abandonment. A death involves compulsory mourning (*ulit*) by the whole long-house community, and the cessation of farming for three days. It is difficult to make an accurate reckoning of the incidence of these and similar customary observances, but I would estimate that the loss of time involved amounts to about 15% to 20% throughout the entire farming year. It should be noted however, that omens which prevent farming do not necessarily interfere with other work, so that a day lost on the farm is, more often than not, usefully spent in coping with some pressing domestic task.

Time Expended in Man-days per Acre

201. Having examined the general calendar of the Iban agricultural year, let us now face a more difficult problem: the estimation of time expended in man-days per acre—for the main stages of *padi* cultivation. For certain operations such as dibbling and sowing fairly precise figures can be given, for in these instances a standardized technique is employed, and planting conditions differ but slightly from farm to farm. On the other hand, the amount of labour involved in clearing land for planting varies considerably, with primeval forest (*kampong*) at one extreme and scrub (*krukoh*) only a few months old at the other; and between these two limits there are a score of differing types of secondary growth. After a good burn planting can be embarked upon without delay, but in adverse years much time is lost in *ngebak*, or clearing the land of unburnt branches. The infestation of a farm by weeds is much heavier in the case of secondary growth which has been felled and fired several times, than it is with jungle being cleared

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

marked tendency among the tribes to demand a heavier rent— 425
in fact several dollars a year. The tenure, too, has been modified within late years in view of the increasing demand for 427
accommodation, and it is now generally understood that when 178
the proprietor chooses to leave the district and remove into a distant country he forfeits, by so doing, all title to the ground and can no longer exact rent.

Agriculture with the Sea Dyaks is in a very backward condition, but they contrast very favourably with the Malay popu- 243
lation in the vicinity. Neither use the plough nor buffalo, but the former cultivate on a more extensive scale and with a more provident idea. They grow, both individually and collectively, far more than they require for their own consumption, and with 433
the residue they purchase necessaries, such as salt, steel, iron, and luxuries, such as personal ornaments, for their families. If the harvest has been really plentiful they are even able to afford to purchase gongs and toddy, and perhaps a jar or two.

As a rule they prefer to cultivate hilly soil, but some few 243
have learnt to utilize the wet land. Their farming operations are regulated by the position in the heavens of the Seven 221
Stars of the Pleiades. They commence business towards the 821
end of the dry season, July and August, so that they have the wet monsoon to bring the paddy to maturity, and the beginning of the following fine weather, April and May, to ripen the grain.

The old jungle is called *kampong*, and the new is called 243
temuda. The Dyaks prefer infinitely to farm the former when- 311
ever it is to be obtained within reasonable distance of the village, and when it is getting scarce in their immediate neighbourhood they shift their residence nearer to it. In parts of the country more populous than others, it frequently happens that the Dyaks have not in their territory any old jungle; such situations are not so laborious to prepare, but being destitute of the rich layer of vegetable mould and the fertilizing properties of burnt wood, are not nearly so productive. After having felled the old jungle and farmed on it once, they leave it for seven years to grow up again and are then ready to use it a second time. The first year's growth is called *kruaoh*.

When it is intended to open out new country, the first thing 243
to be done is for every family to select an eligible piece of forest 787
land and to mark out the quantity they wish to cultivate. The 313
next step is to *beburong*, that is to say to consult the omen birds of the tribe to learn whether or no they approve of this choice. For this purpose they erect a hut first in one quarter then in another of the land in question, and wait upon the birds for

17:Bedford D-5 (1958) 1959 OC6 Iban OC6
Rumah Bujak

a surplus which they sell to the bazaar. The padi is planted in July and August and harvested in February and March. They grow vegetables and fruit around the house and along the bunds between the padi fields, partly for their own consumption and partly to sell in the bazaar. They rear pigs and poultry and own five head of cattle comprising one bull and four cows.

When not employed in padi cultivation and jobs about the longhouse the people spend a large portion of each year at Sungai Pinggai tapping rubber. While so employed they live in their rubber gardens for days or weeks at a time.

Social Pattern

The situation at Rumah Bujak, where the people live part of the year in the longhouse and part of the year in *langkaus* a considerable distance from the longhouse, travelling between the two places as required is the rule rather than the exception in the Second Division. For example many Sea Dayaks in the Saribas and Rimbas Rivers have their longhouses upriver and swamp padi fields downriver, travelling between the two as required.

In short the Sea Dayak in the Second Division at least is semi-nomadic. This factor would assume great importance if medical surveys or the attack on specific diseases by mass drug administration were being planned, where it is necessary to have as near one hundred per cent of the population as possible in the longhouse at the same time. If a wide area were being covered by such a campaign, no particular season of the year would be ideal for all parts of the area in which the campaigning was being carried out.

The Sea Dayak is understandably reluctant to curtail his movements to and fro, as they have usually an agricultural motive and on agriculture his main source of livelihood depends. The only answer to this problem would be intensive propaganda before a medical campaign enlisting the enthusiastic help of the administrative authorities.

This problem of continuous migration kept cropping up throughout the present study. It made investigations more laborious and time-consuming than they would otherwise have been.

195 bringing. One year later, 22,000 piculs were exported from Sibu in
648
314 the one month of November, 1948, and in 1950, Government reports complained of the problems of recruiting labor and predicted the failure of rice crops that were neglected by planters taking advantage
[464] of the rubber boom. At present, many Ibans are hiring out as coolies
[434] for two to three dollars a day rather than tap rubber which is bringing about $45 per picul.[23] When prices are up, rubber is tapped. When it is more profitable to engage in other activities, rubber is left alone.

132 Another reason why the local trade is variable is the erratic
314 rainfall which has been described (pages 15-19). Rainfall at night or in the early morning makes rubber tapping impossible, and during months of heavy rain the production of rubber drops appreciably.

• 221 In addition to rainfall and fluctuating prices, another reason
243 for variations in the rubber trade is the seasonal activities of rice
314

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[23] The "Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Third Division, Upper Rejang, For the Year 1970," contains the following indictment: "Due to the decline in prices down to the 50's the exports of rubber from Sibu and presumably the production went down three fold as compared to 1969. Many small holders have stopped tapping their trees and (are) turning elsewhere for their livelihood. This short sighted policy on the part of our farmers is a definite drawback as it hampers the Government's efforts to stabilise the rubber market." (pages 13-14). The small holder, however, has no alternative other than exploiting the part(s) of his environment which offers the greatest rewards at any one time.

221 243 314 cultivation. During the months of May to August, when clearing and planting takes place, and March and April, when harvesting and storing is done, the time given to rubber tapping is much less than during the other months. In some families with more members, a division of labor is arranged so that both rice farming and rubber production, for food and cash, are carried on.

455 648 439 Still another reason for variations is the tendency at all levels, from tapper to trader to exporter, to speculate and hold back quantities of rubber against a rise in prices which sometimes occurs, though recently not by very much. It is not uncommon to find several scores of rubber sheets hanging in village shops or lesser amounts in the dapor section of a bilik, being held until prices rise or until the owners make a trip to the pasar. Many small holders cannot afford the luxury of such speculation, even on a small scale, and must sell soon after processing the sheets regardless of prices.

800 [133] The fluctuations in the rubber trade may be seen on the following page in Table 2, in which rubber exports are correlated with the amount of rainfall and prices during the months of 1970. Two other factors must be kept in mind: (1) the months from March to August are times when rice cultivation and harvesting require a major proportion of work, if a successful crop is to be had, and (2) the prices given are exporters' prices, the small holder receiving considerably less.

186 Anyau said, Mula ia aku makai berau China asai ka mutah ("The first time
243 I ate Chinese rice, I felt like vomiting"). The man who is lucky enough
262
[829] to grow enough rice so that he never is without and never has to buy is clearly considered a cut above the man who is not so successful.

243 That rice farming is not merely an economic activity but also
183 a ritual of powerful tradition is abundantly apparent in the cases of men and women who farm at a loss, not because they have to, but because it "is the way of our ancestors" (endang jalai aki ini kami bansa Iban). Umbing owns a wooden, Chinese carpenter-built house at the Tenth Mile Oya Road. In 1969-70, he returned to the area of his longhouse at Sungai Pa to grow rice, even though he is largely self-sufficient in terms of his needs. According to reckoning of the expenses he put out in travel, seed, labor and fertilizer, and the rice he harvested, he lost an estimated M$50 on the farming venture. Asked why he farmed at a loss, when otherwise he is an astute businessman, Umbing's answer was essentially that given above, and repeated by many Ibans: Endang jalai pengidup kami bansa Iban.

2. The Farming Year

243 The beginning of the farming year is set by the annual meeting
621 called by the tuai rumah of all the tuai bilik in his house, for the
[221] purpose of discussing where each family will farm during the next year. This permits the families involved to state where they will farm, and to

243 621 [423] avoid possible conflicts due to overlapping claims to the same ancestral lands. Further, if a member of the house who has moved away to another longhouse because of marriage (nguai), or for some other reason has been away, wants to activate his rights to farm land claimed by his natal [427] bilik, he may do so at that time. Although renting land is not common, it does occur and a token fee of one pasu of padi per acre is charged cf. Freeman 1955:147-8).

243 796 [221] The annual meeting is held at about the end of April, after the previous year's crop has been brought to the house and stored. At that meeting, the date for the Gawai Batu ("Festival of the Whetstone") is set, and the members of the community begin preparations (nengkira) by cooking tuak ("rice wine"), collection and purchase of food, and the inviting of guests. The purpose of the Gawai Batu is to assure a good harvest in the new year.

[412] A ritual center (pandong) is made on each family's ruai, with the whetstone (batu ansah), tools to be used in farming such as weeding knives (ilok), knives (duku'), hoes (changkul), sickles (pitu'), and axes (kapak), together with baskets of seed (benih), wrapped in a woven blanket (pua' kumbu').

243 621 796 At the meeting held to plan the gawai, each tuai bilik states which guests his family will invite. Generally, all members of nearby houses will be invited, while only a few selected friends from more distant houses will be asked to attend. However, if members of the house

243 dispatched with a spear. The pig's liver is removed and sliced so that
996 men experienced in augury may study the lines and ventricles and divine
787 the success of the farms.

243 After the gawai, a ritual seeking of the place for farming is
787 observed, to confirm that the site selected in the meeting will be fruit-
ful. The sounds and flights of omen birds are looked for, as well as
[782] any animals or snakes that may be there. If no bad omens are seen or
heard, the site is confirmed with the offerings of eggs, popped rice and
rice cakes, and the killing of a chicken to propitiate (ngenselan) the
earth that will be farmed.

221 The ritual of confirming and propitiating the farm site (panggul),
243 v.f., manggul) is performed near the end of May or the first of June.
Attempts by some leaders to achieve a simultaneous beginning of the
farming year by fixing June 1, when Sarawak Day or Hari Dayak is observed,
as the day for manggul have not been effective, for in only a minority of
houses are people prepared or well enough organized to follow the calendar
[82] in arranging their work. The demise of augury and with it, the tuai burong
and those familiar with the appearance and positions of the Pleiades, Orion,
and Sirius has been accompanied by disparate times for manggul as well as
for other activities and rituals of the farm. And this has been to the
loss of many Ibans, for as Enchul Apai Jimmy of Rumah Gaong, Sengan, a
successful farmer year after year, once said, Enti' kitai deka' bulih
padi, enda' tau' kelalu dulu', enda' tau' kelau dudi ari orang ("If we

221/243 are to get rice, we can't be much ahead or much behind other people"), for the individual farmer who is early or late will have his crop ravaged by the ubiquitous sparrows. If the rice progresses at about the same rate of growth, among a number of fields, the loss for any one field is less.

221 213 782 By the middle of June, the work of clearing the farm sites is begun. The inaugaration of this work is marked with an offering to protect the workers from injury and so that no bad omen will be perceived requiring them to call off work and move to another site. The offering (piring, v.f. miring) as on most occasions consists of popped rice (rendai), rice cakes, (sentupat, sungki), tobacco (semakau), betel leaves and nuts (pinang,sirih), and eggs (telu'), placed in a basket eight inches square and four inches deep (kelingkang), made of plaited bamboo (buloh) or rattan (ui).

242 243 The task of clearing lowland sites near the river banks is much easier than clearing virgin jungle or even secondary growth in hilly areas. At Sungai Aup, where the same sites are farmed year after year, clearing is done with sprayers and herbicides. The proximity to Sibu and the availability of cheap transportation has permitted the Ibans at Aup to purchase pack-sprayers and chemical sprays to kill the grasses. Within two days after spraying, the farms are rolled (dibelat) with 55 gallon drums filled with water, pressing the dead grasses and stubble into the soil. Those who do not over-dilute the sprays are assured of a quick

242 wilting of the grasses. Some, however, put too much water with the
243 sprays, practicing a false economy (luki') by other Ibans' own estimates, so that the spraying is not effective and the task of weeding more difficult.

243 In most farms land still is cleared with ilok, pitu' and duku',
412 and the cut grasses and stubble left to dry before being fired. The use of these conventional tools is due in part to a greater difficulty of access to the pasar in some cases, with a concomitantly greater cost in the cost of transporting materials. Another reason is that some farms are not cultivated more than two years in succession, then allowed to lie fallow an average of seven years, making clearing more difficult.

228 A novel development has been made by Tuai Rumah Asun who alter-
176 nates a 22 acre site at 4½ miles Durin Road between rice and fish. In
243 May, the pegong ikan ("fish pond") is drained and sold on the Sibu market. The grass in the pond is sprayed with herbicides and fired when dry, after which wet rice is planted. When the rice comes to head, the pond is dammed and stocked again with fry that grow, feeding on the rice, and are caught when the pond is drained at the beginning of the next farming year.

243 Within two days of the full moon in June (keleman sehari dua udah
774 bulan kembong) the rice-beds are planted. The life/death motif noted
[22] earlier in the concept of life beginning and ending with rice appears again in the language used for planting the rice-beds. The seed are interred (dikubor, lit., "entombed") that they may rise and give new life

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

243 provide the food while others work in their fields, and pork, vegetables
496 and other lauk ("food other than rice," upriver, engkayu') are purchased
184 or obtained from the family's resources.

243 The anak padi of each variety of rice is transplanted in rows, and when one strain is completed, a new row is begun for the next. A survey of the farms of Rumah Nyala, Aup, and Rumah Imba, Salim, showed that each farm contained an average of 15 different strains of rice, divided almost equally between those maturing in six months and others
[221] requiring only three months for maturation.[12] The six-month varieties are planted between mid-August and the first of September, and the
244 three-month strains by the end of October. A strip of land three feet
243 wide between the three- and six-month varieties is planted with vegetables, the species depending upon the quality and height of the land. Corn (jagong) is interspaced between the strains of rice, and Job's tears (lingkau) on hillocks or raised mounds. Egg-plant (buah terong), pumpkins (buah entekai), and long-beans (retak panjai) are also planted on mounds of earth. Mustard seeds (leka ensabi) and gourd seeds (leka labu') are broadcast (ditabor) over the farm. In some areas where it is impractical to mound up soil, all seeds are broadcast among the rice plants, the rationale being that the plant growth helps with weed control.

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[12] The factor of photo-periodism is important, particularly for full development of the grain. For rice that is planted too late in the year will be imperfectly filled out.

243 disappointment if the harvest does not come up to expectation. It
154 protects the remainder of the crop from the dangers of reprisal from offended spirits, or from compliments from a person who can put a curse or hex on a crop, causing it to wither and die simply by commenting,
[657] "Uh, you have a good crop this year, eh?". A new reason for hyperbolical statements of losses has been provided by the Welfare Department which began making grants of rice to longhouses in which people had run out before the harvest. If officials in that Department were convinced that members of a community were in need, a grant was made; hence, the need to be convincing and exaggerative.[14]

243 Lest the wrong impression be conveyed, in sixty-four per cent of
433 the cases in the concentrated study, it was necessary to buy rice or to exchange labor or goods for it within the longhouse. But, in no single case could the cause be laid to pests alone.

[221] The period from late January to early March is known as bulan maya gantong sendok ("the months when the ladle hangs (empty)"), and supplies of rice in a majority of cases run out. The Ibans then must buy
000 from their fellows who have surpluses, or from Chinese traders. At Rumah Gaong, members of twenty families provided labor for Enchul Apai Jimmy

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[14] The attitude expressed by some Ibans, but by no means all, has been, "If someone else is getting rice, I'm going to get some as well, for I pay taxes, too."

243 trays (chapan) rapidly up and down, blowing the empty husks (ampa') away.
[462] As the padi collects on the tikai it is returned to the bidai to await the final storing.

The storing of the padi is done in the evening of the first full
243 moon (bulan kembong) after the harvest, and requires about three hours.
251 The storage is an event of moment, for the sufficiency of the padi until
[221] the next harvest depends upon a proper storing. If the padi is handled carelessly or without respect, it will be offended and diminish far more rapidly than it should. If it is handled with reverence, it magically will increase in storage.

[554] The senior active woman in the bilik does the actual storing, receiving the padi as it is passed up from the bilik either in baka' or
[182] half coconut husks (tachu'). As in all major stages of the farm year, storage is observed with offerings (piring), consisting of the items already described. The woman in charge enlists the help of other men in the longhouse to aid in stamping the padi down into the tibang, to
[784] insure that it will not be wasted. The husband or male members of the bilik storing cannot be engaged in this because of the sexual relations obtaining between him and the woman in charge. The padi is poured into the tibang, which measures about five feet in diameter by three feet in depth, until the two or three owned by the family are filled, and surplus rice is stored in guni which may be stored alongside the tibang in the sadau, or lined up against the wall of the bilik.